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[Redacted]

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[Redacted] suggested that I give you this
to read. Would like to make appointment to see you and
discuss it with you.

Sincerely,

s/

[Redacted]

STAT

THE
AMERICAN SOCIALIST ROAD
TO
PEACE FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

Preliminary Outline



STAT

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How To Organize

In this paper we shall not discuss the effect of the world political situation on the American political situation. Although the world political situation has a tremendous effect on the American political situation, I feel that it is not necessary to discuss it at this time.

Today, in America, we find an American people completely confused and disorganized. A people who accept the leadership of no group or person. They neither follow the leadership of the Republican or Democratic Parties, nor that of the Lib-Lab leaders, nor that of the Social-Democrats, nor Communist Party.

On the surface it seems that the American people are completely apathetic. However, every now and then we find signs of a rebellious mood in the American people, a mood unorganized, confused, which sometimes supports reactionary actions and at other times progressive actions. The actions which they take are spontaneous and unorganized for the most part. I refer to such happenings in America as: the reaction to MacArthur, the emergence of a peace movement, the city-wide student strike in New York, the fight between students and police at Columbus, the action of prisoners in going on strike, the Feuer-Katz affair at Vasaar, the reactions to the McGee murder, the increasing votes of the Communist and Trotskyite Parties, the independent vote for Impellitteri, the pressure from the rank and file on the liberal-labor leaders to quit the WSB, etc.

Although some of the happenings related above have behind them some organizational backing, they all have the major characteristics of being essentially spontaneous, e.g., the reaction to MacArthur and the emerging peace movement.

around any organization or any personality as yet. Two personalities around which opinions can become crystallized are MacArthur and - or Eisenhower. Two people obviously dangerous to the progressive movement. As yet, the American people do not accept the leadership of either of these figures. The American people are still looking for leadership. When a positive program or a negative program, forcefully and positively expressed, is presented to them, they will support it. It is important to note that this program need not be a rational program, that it could well be a Fascist program. The problem faced by progressives is to begin to build a progressive program now. It is the opinion of this author that we have from the present moment until the nominating conventions of the two major parties next year to build that program and an organization to carry that program to the people. If nothing is built by the time of the nominating conventions of the two major parties, the opinions of the American people will be crystallized around either Eisenhower, who supports war in Europe, or MacArthur who supports war in Asia. Once those opinions have become crystallized, the job of the progressive movement will become all the more difficult. Once MacArthur and-or Eisenhower are nominated for the Presidency, all political discussion in America will center around them as either-or. That is, if in the year before the nomination the progressive movement has not built a mass organization which can and will be a legitimate alternative to the two war candidates.

PRESENT PEACE MOVEMENT

The present peace movement in America is a hodge-podge of humanitarians, idealists, pacifists, isolationists, socialists and anarchist-syndicalists. The major characteristic of the peace movement is that

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think it is important to note, however, that for the most part, the people who are actively participating in the organization of the peace movement are Socialists, scientific and/or humanitarian and/or people who basically support American Democratic values as against American Capitalist values.

Analysis of Elements in the Peace Movement:

The best organized element in the peace movement is the Communist Party. They have been able to attract to the Peace Movement many people who are sympathetic both to Socialism and the Soviet Union.

Other people who have been attracted to the peace movement - either that led by the Communist Party or by Independent Groups are philosophical or religious pacifists (Quakers and Religious leaders), humanitarians and idealists.

The isolationists are essentially unorganized, or where organized, are led by basically reactionary leadership which in the event of crisis would support war and fight against peace.

The general propaganda line of the Progressive Peace movement is generally a line of "peace for Peace's sake", attempting to mobilize the general fear of war. There is no peace movement in the United States based on a scientific peace program.

It is the opinion of this author that a peace movement built basically on humanitarian, idealistic, pacifist or isolationist sentiment and feeling is a movement based on quicksand that will disappear the moment that the crisis of war appears.

The present peace movement has a certain amount of strength for reasons which may soon disappear. 1. the fact that the capitalist ruling class is still divided as to what is the best course for them to follow; 2. the fact that the President is not a man and a president.

United States and its satellites as regards policy in this war.

It is important to note that the major propaganda guns of the capitalist ruling class has been centered on the Soviet Union. It is important to note that the American people are completely ignorant about Korea, that they do not care about Korea, that they do not think it is important that Americans die in Korea. It is also important to note that at best there is some positive feeling for the Chinese people in America, and even some for the Chinese Communist Government; that at worst, there is much opposition to Chiang Kai Shek. It is important to note that there has been considerable difference between the Truman Administration and the British Government on the policy towards China. It is also important to note that in addition to the general ignorance of the American people about Asia, there is a tremendous amount of prejudice as regards the Asiatic people. As a result of the American people's attitude towards the Asiatic people as inferior, they see no reason why American people should die to change the regimes in these areas.

I think it is obvious that the above reasons will not hold in case of war with the Soviet Union, and it is primarily with the Soviet Union that we must have peace. I think it is true to say that the general opinion of the American people as regards the Soviet Union is that the Soviet Union is a terrible tyrannical, undemocratic regime which in no way is favorably distinguished from the Nazi regime. I think it is also true to say that this opinion is not deeply felt or understood, - that in some ways the people who hold these opinions have some doubts about its accuracy. But I think it is important to emphasize that at this moment they hold them strongly enough so that mobilization for war against the Soviet Union is not out of the question.

peace is the problem of peace between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. That as long as the American people have this kind of attitude towards the Soviet Union there remains the danger of war, or at best the continuation of the cold war. The continuation of the cold war means that any incident, provoked or accidental, can throw us into war.

The problem faced by a progressive movement in this country is the transformation of these superficial and antagonistic attitudes of the American people towards the Soviet Union to doubts about this attitude, followed by neutralism as regards the Soviet Union, followed by antagonism towards war with the Soviet peoples, although they may still not like many aspects of Soviet life.

This means that any progressive movement must speak the truth about the Soviet Union. We must speak not only about the positive aspects of the Soviet Union, which incidentally I believe far outweigh the negative aspects, but we must speak about the negative aspects also.

In order for the progression from doubts to antagonism for war with the Soviet Union to occur, it is necessary for two things to be understood by the American people about the Soviet Union. The concrete aspects of life in the Soviet Union, both negative and positive. These aspects, incidentally, have to be compared not only with the United States today, but with the United States after thirty years of industrial capitalism. Secondly, the American people, in order to understand the Soviet Union, must begin to understand the theory of Socialism. Unless both these things are understood, peace with the Soviet Union is extremely tenuous.

Any new movement for peace must understand the necessity of the above. It should be noted that the organization of an open Socialist peace movement does not in any way mean the elimination of such organizations (or their activities) as the American Peace Crusade, etc. At

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this period both these organizational forms are understood, however, that organizations like the American Peace Crusade can only lengthen the period of peace - but cannot in any way give us permanent peace. They can give us time to establish the only organization which can give us permanent peace - a National Labor Party whose long range goal is Socialism.

(The whole problem of the peace movement and the Soviet Union will be dealt with in a fuller paper at some later time).

CAN THE COMMUNIST PARTY BUILD A MASS PEACE MOVEMENT

This question is raised because at this moment there is no other organized group of any real consequence that has even the remotest possibility of organizing such a movement. The only possible group that can conceivably do it at the present moment is the Communist Party.

In this section I will argue that because of historical and organizational reasons the Communist Party cannot organize a mass peace movement in the time available to us. If we could foresee many years of cold peace or cold war, the Communist Party could and probably would in that time rehabilitate itself in the eyes of the American people. Unfortunately, we do not have that much time. As noted before, the time available to the progressive movement to build a mass organization is from now until the nominating conventions of the two major parties. No longer. By that time, the die will have been permanently cast.

In its past history the Communist Party has made three serious political mistakes which have alienated the three groups which must form the base of any mass movement.

During the period 1939-1941 by their position in relation to the German British Imperialist war, they alienated the liberal middle class of America.

From December 1941, when we entered the war, until the end of the war, the Communist Party alienated the working class of America by taking a class-collaborationist position - a blanket no-strike pledge - which paid little attention to the legitimate grievances of the American workers.

They alienated the American proletariat - the Negro people - by softpeddaling the fight for full equality of the Negro people during the war, and by attacking the leaders of Negro movements fighting for this full equality, movements which had the support of the Negro people.

By taking these positions they alienated the very three groups which must be united in order to build a mass progressive movement. By their tactics they not only created mistrust but a good deal of bitterness.

Two other serious mistakes which were made during the war and which continue to the present day are: 1. the almost complete prohibition of serious discussion about the Soviet Union in the mass organizations controlled by the Party; 2. slanderous attacks on all individuals who are critical not of the general Communist Party position, but of certain aspects of the Communist Party position and of certain specific developments in the Soviet Union. These attacks have been so vicious that many people, who at one time were willing to work with the Communists, will not now actively participate in any organization in which the Communists have formal leadership, despite their basic sympathy with the Soviet Union and general antagonism towards the war policies of the Democratic and Republican parties.

These people are people who at one time were quite active. In numbers they are far greater than the present active membership of the Communist Party and its sympathizers.

These people must have an organization which they themselves control in order to activate them. In order for the peace movement to grow, these people must be activated. Their bitterness towards the Communists is so great at the present time, that it is impossible to discuss rationally with them the problem. Attitudes developed from personal experience, as you probably know, are felt more deeply than any intellectual discussion about problems.

This bitterness can be relieved most efficiently and most quickly only through new experiences.

This is the reason we need a new party (or political movement) now.
WHAT WILL BE THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE NEW PARTY (OR POLITICAL MOVEMENT)
TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

In order for the new party (or political movement) to be successful, only a minority of the top leadership should be Communists.

All local leaders must be non-Communists to begin with. The Communists on the local levels should play the part of informal leaders. They must not be able to control the organization because of initiating it and so become the formal leaders. In the new party they must win leadership by a vote of confidence of the rank and file after seeing them in action, not by control of the formal structure!

It is the opinion of this author that at the present time too many members of the Communist Party have a trained incapacity for democratic leadership. Through the process of winning leadership they will also learn about democratic values and interpersonal relations.

The historical relationship of the new party to the Communist Party should be the following:

1. initially, Communists will enter the party as individuals. If there is any attempt at faction or faction movements they

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will be expelled.

2. the second development will be that of a united front between the Communist Party and the new Party or political association.

3. the third development will be that of organic unity between the two parties.

There will be some other conditions as regards Communist membership in the new organization which will be considered in the section on structure and organization.

THE NEW PARTY
or
POLITICAL ASSOCIATION

The necessity for a new organization was explained in the discussion on the political situation in America. The reasons why the Communist Party cannot initiate this organization was explained in the previous section.

In discussing the creation of the new party or association, most people felt dubious about starting either. The two major reasons for this dubiousness were: 1. this was not the correct time, although it is interesting to note that none of the people who said it was not the right time were satisfied with the reasons they offered. Up to this moment no one has suggested any systematic rationale for its not being the correct time.

2. the second reason was more a sentiment or a feeling than any rational explanation. The feeling involved contained such various elements as general apathy, the believe by the individual approached that it was really impossible to do, which meant concretely that he thought it was impossible for him to do, or a general dependence on the Communist Party - a feeling that it is they and only

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they who could possibly initiate any "successful" movement.

These two arguments I think were eliminated in the first section.

Why We Must Have A New Party (or Political Association) Now

1. Only a new party or political association like PCA can organize a permanent peace movement. Since it is impossible for the Communist Party to do this at the present time, somebody else has to take on the task.

2. The first section I think made it clear that we have only approximately a year in which to build this mass movement. Every day which does not see the beginning of such a movement is a day wasted and brings us that much closer to that which we all want to avoid - an insane atomic war that will destroy all the accumulated wealth that the working people all over this world took years to build. It is particularly insane at a time when science has progressed so far that abundance is possible for all the people all over the world.

3. The American people have a tremendous responsibility to the people of the whole world and that responsibility lies in doing everything possible to see to it that war does not come.

It is the contention of this author that only the building of a mass democratic socialist movement can give the possibility of stopping both war and fascism. I think it is clear that a mass democratic socialist movement built on mass participation and initiative, when that movement is attacked, will provide two leaders for every leader that is removed by the capitalist ruling class. This means that hundreds and thousands of people will have to openly avow their socialism. That this is dangerous for them is quite clear. That many of them will lose jobs and end in jail, if not face death, is certain, but this action and only this action, gives any possible hope of building a

mass movement for peace. Only an action such as this can bring to the surface the tremendous democratic potential that lies in the American people. This is what we must do for our own self-respect as human beings and as a recognition of our responsibility as Americans living in the only country in which there are forces that can and are interested in bringing destruction to the whole world. Although this action is dangerous to the individuals who carry it out, it is far less dangerous to their friends and neighbors because by this action, and only by this action - is there any possibility of saving their friends from the horrible destruction of a war with atom bombs, nerve gases, etc.

4. One other criticism of creating the new party is that it is Utopian to think that such a party has the possibility of nation-wide electoral victory. This argument is irrelevant. To stop the war-drive and to stop the drive towards fascism it is not necessary to win political power. It is only necessary to organize a mass movement of the American people based on the trade union movement which takes the position of opposition to war. The combination of the existence of the Soviet Union and of this determined mass opposition to war will at worst slow down the war drive and at best force the Capitalist ruling class to at least temporarily solve the economic crisis of capitalism by trade with the Soviet Union and China which will then give additional time to the strengthening of this movement. The existence of such a movement even though it does not have formal political power will strengthen the forces of neutralism and opposition to war all over the world.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE LIB-LAB MOVEMENT TO THE NEW PARTY
(or POLITICAL ASSOCIATION)

At the present moment the liberal movement outside the trade

unions is confused, disorganized and impotent. Some sections see the present world struggle as one between democracy and totalitarianism. They represent a small section of the liberal movement - the social-democrats. Their present position is to fight for a preventive war - they are more reactionary than the capitalist ruling class itself. Another section goes along generally with the Acheson position of building strength for peace. The New Republic and AVC represent this position. Then there are the negotiated peace people who do not like the Soviet Union very much, but who want peace with the Soviet Union and have considerable antagonism to the present Truman-Acheson position. Such groups as the Nation and the Compass. These are the people among the Liberals that we have to work with first. The three groups taken together are completely middle class and particularly intellectual middle class.

The present leaders of labor are connected with the Truman-Acheson "Build Peace through Strength" camp. They are presently supporting the war mobilization program of President Truman. As distinguished from the middle class intellectuals they are subject to mass pressure from the rank and files in their unions, and will be subject to greater pressure as war mobilization continues.

There is also, leaving out for the moment, the progressive leadership of such unions as UE, ILW, Fur, Mine and Mill, etc. - considerable disagreement among the present labor leadership which is hidden below the surface. There is a good deal of resentment towards the Democratic Party by certain top leaders of the trade union movement and even more pressure by some local leaders. Since the 1950 election fiasco, following the 1948 betrayal by Truman, there has been considerable talk in labor circles about a new third party. However, this has only

been talk. The present labor leaders will not launch such a third party at the present moment because they still are too comfortable - there is not yet enough pressure from the rank and file to do such a thing. And without this pressure these leaders prefer the comforts of their at least adequate salaries, and, what in many ways is more important, the fact that they as individuals have status in America, although workers still do not; and that the press for the most part is quite respectful or at least fair to them. They are not called Communists, or betrayers of American democracy, or other such dirty terms as the ruling class can think of. This is a considerable change from the hurly burly militant days of the thirties. And the present leaders find this atmosphere more congenial to them as individuals. So any thought that these leaders would actually launch a new movement at the present time, on a national scale, is Utopian.

Any thought that we here can launch a national party at the present moment is also Utopian. What then can we do? It is quite clear that a group of convinced people can lead and build a party or political movement in the city of New York. What effect will this have nationally? If this party or political movement can, and it will, organize in one group more people than have been organized in the period from 1948 to the present, other people all over the country will do the same. The question now is whether it is possible to organize such a movement. I argue that it is not only possible, but that it must be done and done immediately, and that it will be successful.

THE NEW YORK POLITICAL SCENE

The elections in the city of New York in 1950 showed that the voters of the city of New York are both apathetic and rebellious.

Many people did not vote at all. Those who voted showed an independence from the political machines which is particularly interesting. There was a tremendous vote for a person whom the people thought was independent. That they were fooled is irrelevant for this discussion. Secondly, the increase in the vote of the Trotskyites from 1000 in 1949 to 13,000 in 1950 is also indicative of this rebellious attitude, and even more interesting indicative of the fact that these particular rebels support a socialist program, no matter how distorted it may be. The third interesting fact about the 1950 election is that both the Liberal Party and the ALP lost votes, lost a large amount of votes from the period of 1949 to 1950. Some they lost by apathy, others they lost to the Democratic Party. It is my opinion that those votes were lost because of the fight between the leadership of the ALP and of the Liberal Party. In effect this vote was a censure for the disunity between these two parties. The people did not understand the differences that separated these parties, and, not understanding these differences, saw no reason why there should not be unity, particularly in a city and state election - and they regressed "back" to the Democratic Party. These voters represent a greater number of people than the total number of voters of the ALP and approximately the same number of voters as the Liberal Party.

Secondly, they were lost because of lack of all year round activity and membership participation. It is my contention that the ALP in the present city campaign will not be able to draw more than 150,000 votes. That it, as well as the Progressive Party, is politically dead. It is my contention that the new party or political movement can, if organized correctly, receive at least a quarter of a million votes in the coming city election. This will constitute a tremendous victory.

for the Progressive movement, because all people will realize that a movement which is only six months old and which at that age can gather a quarter of a million votes is a movement which is growing.

The problems that we face now are:

1. What is the correct general theory of this party or political movement
2. What is the correct organizational theory for this party or political movement
3. What are the correct general tactics for it
4. What should its specific program in this election be
5. How do we go about organizing this party.

THEORY FOR THE NEW PARTY OR POLITICAL MOVEMENT

Three basic theoretic formulations for the American Road To Socialism for the immediate historical period:

1. alliance of working and middle class with working farmers
2. a worker-middle class-farmer democracy
3. revolution by ballot

The following will be an outline discussion of these three points. A good deal of the reasons for this specific formulation will not be discussed here but developed at a meeting to be held in the near future.

It is time for the scientific truth of society to be spoken in the United States. We who have lived in the years of capitalist decline, in years of depression and war and preparations for further war, demand a change. "Each generation", said Tom Jefferson, "has a right to choose for itself the form of government it believes the

most promotive of its own happiness." The younger generation of America now intends to assert this right.

We state categorically that capitalism has nothing further to offer the American people or the people of the world except death, destruction, misery and corruption. We therefore demand a change from the unplanned, chaotic, destructive economy of capitalism to a planned constructive economy for human rights and development. To make this demand real, we further demand the transfer of the means of production from the hands of the few to the hands of all the people of these United States.

In short, we demand production for people's needs and not for profit. -- a country where the people, not money, talk.

That this demand will be resisted by the money power is undeniable. It is therefore incumbent upon us to work out the correct theory and organization that will enable us to mobilize the democratic power of the people against the money power of the capitalists.

The three essential points I think are:

1. Alliance of the working class, the middle class (white collar, professional, intellectuals) and working farmers ---- the skills and abilities of these three groups as well as their numbers are equally necessary for the achievement of a mass democratic movement in America; their status should therefore be equal. The objective interests of these three groups for the most part are complimentary. All are being exploited by the capitalists. The strength of these three groups is at least partially dependent on their equality of status within the alliance. Equality of status does not mean equality of power. For obvious reasons the working class will be the most powerful in the alliance.

2. For a Worker-Farmer-Middle Class Democracy Against Capitalist Democracy ---- Capitalist democracy is a fake because while in appearance it seems that the political democracy (universal suffrage - the people) is the deciding factor, it is clear from a scientific study of the society that the determining element is the socio-economic conditions in general and the capitalist economy in particular. An economy which is outside the control even of the men who rule it. An economy which as long as it lasts will be outside the control of men - an economy which makes the machine the master of mankind rather than mankind the master of the machine. For such a Frankenstein monster, death is the only solution.

W-M-F democracy will by putting ownership in the hands of the people be able then to scientifically control the economy to satisfy the needs of human development.

3. Revolution by Ballot - the American Way ---- Today the American people have political democracy. Theoretically it is possible for them to take the state in their own hands by means of the ballot. However, the socio-economic conditions are what we may call a counter-acting tendency. The means of mass information and education etc. are controlled by the capitalists. However, life is not controlled by them. In fact they never can control life even under Fascism because they can never fully control their own economy. Since they cannot fully control life - the total experiences of the American people - despite their control of education, etc, the American people have learned much and despite distorted interpretations of their experiences have learned enough so that even the maintenance of capitalist political democracy has become dangerous to the capitalist ruling class and they therefore are in the process of attempting to destroy their own political creation.

Because many elements of American capitalist political democracy have been won not as gifts of the capitalists but by bitter political and direct struggles of the workers, farmers, and progressives in America we socialists must stand 100% for the maintenance of political democracy. We are not interested in smashing the state machine, but in maintaining it and continuing it, with, however, considerably changed content. Content is always more important than form. A form generally speaking is neutral although in specific cases this may not be so. Either progressive or reactionary content can be poured into it.

Revolution by ballot is the form of struggle for the long range goal of planned economy for human rights and development. The American people today believe in capitalist political democracy. They are yet for the most part unaware of the meaningless negative content of that democracy---- of the controlling nature of the economy and those who rule the economy. Whoever today attacks political democracy attacks the American people. They still believe in capitalist democracy for the simple reason that a. they do not understand it in a scientific manner b. since they are for the most part uninvolved in it they have not yet seen the real oppression that exists.

The fight for immediate issues will educate the people to the real nature of capitalist democracy. The fight for immediate demands will involve them in fighting with the ballot but more important in direct actions. The streets must be taken over by the people in mass action on grievances -(we can learn an excellent lesson from the students who went down to City Hall last year)- rent, civil rights, etc. - By protest parades, street corner meetings, etc. the masses will educate themselves as to the nature of capitalist democracy. At the same time, formal education will be increasing in our movement - in -

terpreting the experiences of the people from day to day in terms of socialist science.

Attitude towards the Soviet Union

We believe that the Russian Revolution and the recent Chinese Revolution were and still are and will continue to be great progressive revolutions. This does not mean that we do not criticize many aspects of Soviet life. No Socialist likes a GPU or labor camps. We believe that they are historically necessary. The only disagreement we have with the Soviet Union is that these necessary historical actions are more ruthlessly carried out than necessary. We also believe that there is a tendency for leadership elements to keep controls on longer than is necessary. We further believe that friendly criticism by one socialist of another can never be harmful to the cause of socialism.

I think that we in America must recognize, lest we criticize too glibly, that much of the information that is available to us concerning the Soviet Union is biased, distorted, downright exaggerated and a good deal of it completely untrue. Secondly, that whether we realize it or not, all of us, even though we call ourselves socialists -- have a good deal of negative individualism in our values and lack a good deal of positive collective values -- so that many criticisms that we think are highly justified, may not really be so.

It is my firm belief that a socialist America will create the historical conditions for full political democracy in the Soviet Union.

I conclude this section with a quote from Tom Jefferson that I feel is quite appropriate: "The man who fears not truths has nothing to fear from lies."

These are the four major theoretical positions which are, I believe necessary for the building of a mass democratic socialist movement in America. There is not time how to develop the theoretical positions on the fight for human dignity which includes: the fill of human rights; fight for racial and national democracy; fight for equality of male and female; the fight for freedom of children.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND THEORY

The most pressing problem we face now is to create the correct organizational theory and structure. In order for us to build a successful movement two things are necessary: 1. providing mechanisms for the maintenance of internal democracy and 2. the widespread delegation of responsibility which will guarantee mass participation and initiative.

The most pressing problem facing the progressive movement today is not that of lack of discipline but of over-discipline and bureaucracy. In reacting to this problem we must be careful that it is democracy we structure into the organization and not anarchy.

Below you will find suggestions in outline form for dealing with the problems mentioned above.

1. Structuring criticism and self-criticism into the organization.

It is not enough that criticism be permitted. It must be encouraged, and structured into the organization. As Carey McWilliams has ably said "It is always difficult to get from people an expression of what they really think about issues, for the simple reason that often enough they only discover what they think about issues when they discuss issues with other people. The problem is not to get people to vote "Yes" or "No", but to encourage them to think, to say what they really feel. This takes tact, understanding, and a real respect for democratic values.

This is not altogether true. One of the problems we face is that there are some people who are very articulate, verbally competitive, etc., particularly, lawyers, teachers, journalists, etc., people who monopolize discussion because a good deal of their vocational training requires them to be articulate. They overwhelm the others - make them feel inadequate and so unawaredly stifle real participation. These people must be partially silenced. Secondly, the chairman of a club must make it his particular duty to draw out and help the reticent ones. Thirdly, in clubs which are not homogeneous as regards status in American society, e.g. working class - middle class, young Americans - older immigrants, Negroes - Whites, clubs should have co-chairmen. Thus, giving status to the underprivileged groups. It will be the responsibility of the more educated etc. chairman to train the other one. This is what he should be judged upon.

But this is not enough. The club must

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tasks to raise the level of all members. The goal is the creation of a homogeneous group, as regards education and awareness. This means classes in: American Labor History, Socialism - Theory and Practice, American Politics, Interpersonal Relations, etc.

Finally, no member is to be attacked by slogans (disrupter, Social Democrat, Trotskyite). No one learns anything from such tactics. Argue on the issues - not through personal slander - this helps clarify thinking. Any member slandering another member should be censured and educated as to the incorrectness of his behaviour.

Still on the local level, it is the leader's responsibility to make out written reports on the political situation and the perspective as he sees it, periodically. These reports should be distributed to at least all active members. Any member should have the right to write a counter-report, which also must be distributed. These reports are to be discussed at rank and file membership meetings. Only by having these written reports can we look back and see if the leadership has been correct and watch the growth or lack of growth in the leadership and the rank and file. Any member can write a criticism of the leaders, which, if signed by a number of other members, must be discussed at a membership meeting. No leader, because of prestige or formal position, must be in so exalted a position that he is not subject to criticism. It is bad for him and the group.

So that criticism should not be one-sided - those criticizing should give the total picture as they see it, both positive and negative.

What has been said at local level is equally true on higher levels. There should at least be a city-wide criticism and self-crit-

icism meeting periodically. Only rank and filers should be delegates. No officers. Officers, however, should be present. These meetings are to be held specifically for purpose of getting rank and file ideas on what is wrong, what should be done, etc. Officers and staff should prepare a report in advance which is sent to all clubs for discussion so that delegates have an opportunity to adequately discuss problems.

The truth is on our side. Rank and file must therefore be exposed to all points of view that oppose the party policy - particularly those points of view which are appealing to the same groups of people. Only through this sort of conflict of ideas can the rank and file grow sufficiently to influence and educate the people outside our party. All clubs should have right to criticize higher organs, and their criticisms, when voted by the club, must be presented in newspaper and discussed on all levels.

2. Creating wide-spread responsibility and initiative.

One of the major problems here is that the leadership is afraid to delegate responsibility. They are more interested in the immediate pragmatic "successes" than in the real growth of the organization. There is a lack of understanding that people grow with responsibility. That the person delegated the responsibility may make many more mistakes than the leader is probably true. However, a mass movement requires thousands of leaders and they can be trained not by being told what to do but by being given responsibility, making mistakes, and learning from these mistakes.

This suggests that clubs be decentralized - that we are not interested in canvassers for a political election district, but in the building of political leaders in the election district. The goal we

must set is a political club in every election district which will provide people who can mimeograph a local e.d. newspaper and which will provide at least one person who can lead a discussion of the issues with the people in the district at e.d. meetings.

The assembly district club should act as a coordinating body for the e.d. clubs.

As you realize, this section is quite sketchy, and only the beginning of the discussion of these problems. Many important problems have not been discussed at all. Many valuable suggestions as to possible solutions of these problems will be found in a series of articles published in the Monthly Review, entitled "Cooperation on the Left" - March 1950 through December 1950. Let me make clear that the editors of this magazine in no way endorse the positions I have taken in this paper. The positions taken in this paper are my own, and for them I bear sole responsibility.

HOW TO ORGANIZE

Organization should be on an assembly district basis.- people should be members of clubs in the area in which they live with the exception of clubs which may be formed on occupational bases, e.g. garment workers' club, musicians' club, etc. This is to prevent packing of any club for control purposes. Also this will keep club more homogeneous in relation to the neighborhood in which it exists.

At the present time clubs should be operated from homes rather than rented places. The two major methods of reaching the people for this period, June to November 1951, should be through a 500,000 edition of a four page newspaper, which is not mailed but distributed by members. The paper should be written in such a fashion as to encourage

comments and questions, and be able to be used as a basis of discussion with the people.

The second method is the street corner meeting with or without microphones. It is better to lose our voices temporarily, than our heads permanently. There are 2000 election districts in New York City, and our goal must be 2000 street corner speakers who will be in a position to and will answer all the questions the people raise. The speakers must be of such character that when they do not know an answer, they will say so - not give the person asking the question an off-hand, unconsidered explanation. Even more important than the ability to discuss issues is the ability to listen and learn from the people. This is one of the sorest lacks in the progressive movement today. We don't have all the answers, in fact, we have only a few answers, and the basic answer can only come from the people themselves. What our party or political movement can do is articulate and guide the people, but this only can be done by listening closely to the people and learning from them. We have much, very much, to learn.

As regards organization in general, there is a lot of nonsense spread about know-how, experience, etc. This talk about organizing being the province of experts itself is a contributing factor to apathy and lack of participation. People organize people.

The two bases for a good organizer are: 1. conviction of the truth of what he is doing and 2. a respect for his own dignity as a human being which results in a respect for the dignity of all other human beings. The techniques of organizing are easily learned from such a base. Without this base, organization becomes manipulation and through manipulation a mass progressive movement cannot be built.

These proposals are in outline form. They need extensive development. The development of them will have to wait for further discussion, action, and experience among those actively interested in building the American Socialist Road to Peace, Freedom and Democracy.

The author welcomes all comments and criticisms.

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